

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7170

S E C R E T COPENHAGEN 1370

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (M R N)

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM TEHRAN ACTION HELSINKI
AND COPENHAGEN FOR SECRETARYS' PARTY AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE

S E C R E T TEHRAN 04178

EXDIS

OR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SECVISIT / CENTO: DEBATE ON ROLE OF CENTO

REF: A. TEHRAN 4156; B. TEHRAN 4061

1. FOLLOWING IS UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
(PREPARED BY FSO ROBERT CHASE) AND IS SUBJECT TO
REVISION. FYI-- AFTER SPEECHES ON OWN GOVERNMENT'S
VIEW OF WORLD SITUATION, EACH FOCUSING PRIMARILY
ON CENTO'S ROLE IN REGION AND PAKISTAN'S FUTURE ROLE
IN CENTO, PAKISTANI MINSTATE AHMED AND SECRETARY
ROGERS EACH SPOKE IN REPLY (REFTELS). GENERAL DIS-
CUSSION FOLLOWED. END FYI

2. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER BAYULKEN SAID HE
WAS HAPPY TO HEAR SUCH SINCERE EXCHANGE. HE WAS SURE
PAK SAGACITY WOULD CONSIDER ALL THINGS. HE THEN
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OFFERED A " POSSIBLY FAR- FETCHED SUGGESTION:" CENTO
MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY ONE WHO SUFFERED AS RESULT OF
OTHER MATTERS, WERE INTERESTED IN EXPRESSION OF US
CONCERN FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. COULD WE LEAVE MEETING

BELIEVING THAT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL MEMBERS WAS OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE, THAT IF ANY REGIONAL MEMBER WAS OBJECT OF OPEN AGGRESSION, THIS ORGANIZATION WOULD "SHOW ITS TEETH"?

3. HE GRANTED THAT INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF MANY THINGS BY SELVES. FOR INSTANCE, IF ONE DID NOT SHOW SUFFICIENT CONCERN FOR SUBVERSION, ONE MIGHT NOT SEE COVERT AGGRESSION. BUT, TURK MINISTER CONCLUDED, IF WE LEAVE HERE KNOWING WE ARE PROTECTED AGAINST NAKED AGGRESSION, THEN THIS WILL INDEED HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE MEETING*

4. BRITISH SECSTATE FCO REMINDED MINISTERS THAT VERY FEW PEOPLE IN EUROPE IMMEDIATELY POST- WW II, WHEN RUSSIA REVEALED ITS EXPANSION INTENTIONS, WOULD HAVE BELIEVED EUROPE COULD ESCAPE WITHOUT LOSING TERRITORY. YET NATO WAS CREATED AND NOT A YARD OF TERRITORY HAS BEEN LOST, NOT A SINGLE MAN'S LIFE HAS BEEN LOST.

5. IN BRITAIN, MANY QUESTION WHY BRITAIN SHOULD STAY IN SEATO, CENTO, NATO WHEN BRITAIN'S OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS WERE SO REDUCED AND HER NATIONAL BUDGET SO STRAINED. SUCCESSFUL ANSWER IS THAT BRITAIN HAS RETURNED UNITS TO SINGAPORE AND STILL HAS A MILITARY PRESENCE IN PERSIAN GULF. DETERRENT OF WEST PROBABLY SAVED IRAN, EVEN PAKISTAN. DOUGLAS- HOME HARKED BACK TO EARLIER SECSTATE REMARK AND SAID SUCH RESULT WAS "GREATEST THING IN OUR LIVES." FROM SUCH EXAMPLE, WE MUSTN'T EVEN THINK OF "DODGING ENTANGLEMENTS".

6. IN VERY BRIEF REBUTTAL FOR PAK EXPRESSION OF COMPLETE DISTRUST OF INDIAN SINCERITY IN DESIRE FOR PEACE, SIR ALEC NOTED THAT INDIANS ARE "INDEPENDENT MINDED" AND IT WAS NOT IN THEIR CHARACTER TO LET THEMSELVES BECOME CONTROLLED BY SOVIETS. MRS. GANDHI HAS GONE
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ON PUBLIC RECORD THAT SHE SINCERELY DOES WISH TO SETTLE DIFFERENCES WITH PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN MUST NEGOTIATE TO PROVE THIS.

7. RETURNING TO CONCEPT OF ALLIANCE, BRITISH MINISTER URGED REGIONAL PARTNERS NOT TO UNDERESTIMATE DETERRENT OF WEST'S INTEREST IN THEIR WELL-BEING. BUT DIRECT MILITARY ATTACK SEEMED OUT OF PICTURE, AND ALLIANCE SHOULD MOVE ON TO CONSIDER HOW TO STRENGTHEN COUNTER-SUBVERSION. WEST MUST STILL WORK HARD TO HELP OTHERS DEFEND SELVES THROUGH MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

8. PAK MINISTER INTERVENED AGAIN TO ASSURE MINISTERS
PAKISTAN DID NOT RPT NOT DENY IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCES,
BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL. BUT HE SAID MANY PEOPLE
QUESTION PROMOTION OF PEACE BY MILITARY ALLIANCES.
GOP DOES BELIEVE ALLIANCES HAVE VALUE, BUT HE
CELT
PROBLEM IN CENTO WAS NATURE RPT NATURE OF ALLIANCE,
NOT RPT NO PRINCIPLE. IT CAN BE DETERRENT, BUT
WAR IS PREVENTED BY MANY CONSIDERATIONS OF WHICH
CENTO MAY HAVE BEEN ONE, BUT WAS NOT RPT NOT DECISIVE.
ALSO NATO AND CENTO ARE DIFFERENT. CENTO CANNOT
DO IN REGION WHAT NATO DID IN EUROPE. WAY IN WHICH
CENTO IS STRUCTURED, IT DID NOTHING RPT NOTHING WHEN
IT WAS NEEDED.

9. MINISTER SAID HE WAS ALREADY CONSCIOUS OF FACTS
PREVENTED BY US, GROWING ISOLATIONIST ATTITUDES,
ESPECIALLY IN CONGRESS. IT WOULD BE MISFORTUNE FOR
WORLD, HE SAID, IF ISOLATIONISM GOT UPPER HAND.
PAKISTAN WOULD DO NOTHING TO EMBARRASS US. BUT
CENTO AS PRESENTLY STRUCTURED, AS SHOWN BY PAST
EXPERIENCE, IS INCAPABLE OF PROTECTING TERRITORY OF
MEMBER. ONE HALF OF PAKISTAN DISAPPEARED AND CENTO
DIDN' T EVEN FROWN, IT WAS UNABLE DO ANYTHING
ABOUT IT, AT LEAST AS CENTO. HE ADMITTED US WAS
INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING QUICK END TO WAR.

10. PAKS WANT TO PUT TEETH IN CENTO. IT MUST BE
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RESTRUCTURED, IT MUST DEFINE ITS OBJECTIVES.
MINISTER WOULD LIKE TO SEE CENTO STRENGTHENED
BY DEFINING NEW KIND OF ALLIANCE, ALTHOUGH THAT
MIGHT, OR EVEN WOULD, HAVE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR
DETENTE.

11. SECRETARY ROGERS SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR PAK
MINISTER TO KEEP IN MIND US POLIT ON AFJIMCES--
ALL ALLIANCES. NATO IS DIFFERENT FROM CENTO. MAYBE
ITS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE GREATER. BUT IF ALLIANCES
START TO UNWIND, MOST UNFORTUNATE SERIES OF EVENTS,
COULD START.

12. POLICY OF ALLIANCES GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL,
SECRETARY SAID. THEY CANNOT SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS, HE
ADMITTED, BUT THEY DO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE, SO WHY
CHANGE. IF THERE HAS BEEN MEASURE OF SUCCESS, ALLIANCE
IS WORTH KEEPING. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO HAVE PUBLIC
REDEFINITION OF ALLIANCE, BUT WE MUST SETTLE IN OUR
OWN MINDS WHAT NEW DEFINITION WE WANT. IF
POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR NOW REMOTE, SUBVERSION WILL
GROW, SO LET US DEAL WITH THAT. BUT LET US DO IT

IN SESSIONS LIKE THIS MINSTERIAL, NOT RPT NOT PUBLICLY. WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT TALK OF CENTO AS A SINGLE ITEM, BUT AS PART OF AN ALLANCE SYSTEM. IF WE ARE HAVING TROUBLE MAINTAINING THE ALLIANCE, LET S DEAL WITH OUR PROBLEMS AS QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE.

13. AS DEBATE WOUND DOWN, SECRETARY ROGERS AND BRITISH MINISTER SUGGESTED INCLUSION IN FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF REAFFIRMATION OF ALLIANCE' S CONCERN FOR INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF MEMBER STATES. PAKISTANIS AND OTHER REGIONALS WERE VERY PLEASED TO AGREE AND APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE WAS INCLUDED.

14. FY-- TEXT OF FINAL COMMUNIQUE (TEHRAN 4156) AND TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY ROGERS' DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE AT AIRPORT (TEHRAN 4061) SHOULD BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THIS AND PREVIOUS REFTELS. END FYI.
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